DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 156 414 95 RC 010 625

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TITLE The Relationships Between Western Educational Institutions and the Psychological Organization of an Alaska Native Cultural Group. Final Report.
INSTITUTION Alaska Univ., Fairbanks. Inst. of Social, Economic, and Government Research.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE 31 Dec 77
GRANT NEG-00-30081
NOTE 78p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$4.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; *Affective Behavior; Boarding Schools; Cognitive Development; Community Influence; Comparative Analysis; *Cultural Background; Cultural Differences; Culture Conflict; Elementary Secondary Education; *Eskimos; *Learning Processes; *Place of Residence; *Socialization; Testing
IDENTIFIERS California Achievement Tests; *Cultural Personality; Raven Progressive Matrices; Rorschach Test; Traditionalism

ABSTRACT

Study objectives were to clearly elucidate the cognitive and emotional orientation of the Eskimo's "cultural personality" for purposes of developing effective teaching strategies. Rorschach protocols (N=118) from male and female individuals aged 5 to 90 living in a rural village of 450 were analyzed. Additionally, a sample of 132 students from a white city/white boarding home, an Eskimo town/public boarding school, an Eskimo town/Eskimo boarding home, and an Eskimo village/mission boarding school were given the California Achievement Tests and Raven's Progressive Matrices to provide concrete data upon which the Rorschach results could be applied. The milieus of the various schools/communities were assessed via interviews. Results indicated: a substantial number of Eskimo children, especially those more traditionally socialized, have difficulty expressing emotional and affectual impulses, tending to withdraw under stress and having difficulty with the integration of cognitive and emotional needs; these problems are compounded by the fact that high school programs away from home exacerbate previously existing conditions and precipitate severe social and emotional problems; and for most students, schooling in the community of origin and attention to the special emotional needs of such students via provision of warm and supportive, positive goal and value oriented educational environments are generally considered the most desirable educational alternatives. (JC)

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ED156414

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Final Report

NIE Grant NEG-00-30081

The Relationships Between Western Educational Institutions and the Psychological Organization of an Alaska Native Cultural Group

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December 31, 1977

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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Institute of Social and Economic Research
University of Alaska
Fairbanks, Alaska

RC010625

ABSTRACT

NEG-00-3-0081 "The Relationships Between Western Educational Institutions and the Psychological Organization of an Alaska Native Cultural Group"

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Dr. Judith Kleinfeld

A substantial number of Eskimo children, especially those more traditionally socialized, have difficulty expressing emotional and affectual impluses. They tend to withdraw under stress, such as that of boarding schools, and in fact may have difficulty integrating their emotional and cognitive needs. In many cases, instructions of early developmental problems and poor ego integration may make sublimation of drives in the service of learning very difficult.

This problem is compounded by the fact that high school programs away from home exacerbate previously existing conditions and precipitate severe social and emotional problems for such students.

Some exceptions to this rule exist, for most students, schooling in the community of origin and attention to the special emotional needs of such students by providing warm and supportive, positive goal and value oriented educational environments are the generally most desirable educational alternatives.

Summary of Findings

The major conclusions of this research are that difficulties in Alaska Native educational achievement are rooted in two heuristically distinct but related problems:

First:

A substantial number of Eskimo children, especially those more traditionally socialized, have difficulty expressing emotional and affectual impulses. They tend to withdraw under stress, such as that of boarding schools, and in fact may have difficulty integrating their emotional and cognitive needs. In many cases, intrusions of early developmental problems and poor ego integration may make sublimation of drives in the service of learning very difficult.

Second:

This problem is compounded by the fact that high school programs away from home exacerbate previously existing conditions and precipitate severe social and emotional problems for such students.

Some exceptions to this rule exist, as we shall note, but overall, and for most students, schooling in the community of origin and attention to the special emotional needs of such students by providing warm and supportive, positive goal and value oriented educational environments are the generally most desirable educational alternatives.

Introduction

It has been long evident that Alaska Native students achieve less adequately in education than Alaska's non-Native population (Kleinfeld 1970a, 1970b; Hippler 1969, 1970) and that this problem can be seen very clearly in secondary education.

These phenomena raise several issues:

Are there some special psychological, cultural and social factors which inhibit Alaska Native educational achievement? If so, what are they, and what can be said about their ontogeny?

Are there structural educational situations which alleviate Alaska Native student problems, others which exacerbate them, and, if so, why?

Are there any educational strategies which can be adduced from the above to provide a better opportunity for education for Alaska Natives?

The nature of the problem, providing higher quality education for Alaska Native students, parallels the difficulty in other parts of the U.S. in providing adequate education for racial and cultural minority groups. The need to understand the bases of success or failure among Alaska Natives is crucial.

An unpublished study of dropout rates in secondary schools at which Natives were enrolled (1967) (for that and the previous year) showed high school dropout rates ranging from 50-65 percent. Analysis of dropout rates at the University of Alaska for the

remaining cohort which went on to college, itself only a fraction of the high school graduates, showed nearly a 98 percent dropout rate through the four years of undergraduate instruction. By the time this study was initiated, the conditions had amended slightly, but in no sense had achieved a qualitative change.

Previous research by the investigators suggested that the problem was less related to the degree of effort being expended to solve the problem and more to a lack of understanding of the fundamental differences in attitudes, values, emotional and cognitive organizations which separate Alaska Native students from their non-Native teachers and the expectations and structures of the educational system.

Specifically, research by Hippler (1969, 1970, 1973; Hippler, Boyer and Boyer 1975; Hippler and Conn 1972, 1973) has discovered modes of emotional organization characterizing Alaska Eskimo and Indian populations that in some particulars are quite distinct from members of Anglo-American society. Kleinfeld (1970, 1971, 1973c) has discovered that certain interpersonal styles and cognitive styles of these same Alaska Natives diverge to some degree from Anglo-American norms.

Additionally, Kleinfeld (1972, 1973b, 1973a) has shown that articulation of these Native Alaska cognitive and interpersonal styles with western educational institutions are either exacerbated or facilitated, depending upon the structural characteristics of these institutions and of teaching and related styles of socializing agents.

Objectives

The problem, then, as we perceived it, was not solely to "re-adapt" these distinctive cognitive and emotional styles, but to clearly elucidate them in a fashion which will provide sensitive guides for the positive use of some of these differences. At the same time, there is a need to clarify and codify what are effective teaching procedures and institutional arrangements which will maximize growth and minimize difficulties.

Emotional and Cognitive Orientation of Alaska Natives: Previous Work

The previous research cited above suggests that the emotional and cognitive orientation of the members of various Alaska Native groups predisposes them toward certain basic strategies toward life and expectations in interpersonal relationships which influence their response to educational environments.

For example, Kleinfeld's research (1972, 1973) suggests that students coming from small villages where diffuse, if shallow affective interpersonal relationships are the norm tend to perceive the normative impersonal relationships of educational bureaucracies as having a psychological meaning of rejection and hostility. Kleinfeld's research (1970, 1971, 1973c) on the cognitive structure of Eskimo students also suggests that these students are characterized by forms of perceptual skills which lead to an observational rather than verbal learning style.

Hippler's research (1969a, 1970, 1971; and Hippler, Boyer and Boyer 1973) has suggested that underlying these aptitudes and coexistent with them are certain basic strategies and expectations themselves derived from the "cultural personality" of Eskimos. The essential optimism which most Eskimos express in dealing with the physical universe is combined with both a need for supportive warmth from other members of the group and a tendency to avoid conflict and rely upon subtle interpersonal cues to conduct. The full implications of this for education remain to be detailed, but general hypotheses can be derived for testing, such as the need for subtle teacher student interaction which avoids competitive or conflict-ridden situations and is directed with interpersonal warmth. Quite different orientations seem to characterize Athabascan and Tlingit-Haida peoples (Hippler 1973).

For example, Athabascan and Tlingit-Haida basic personalities seem to predispose the individual to seek security in ordered hierarchical relationships. Athabascans in the past and at present have creatively used inter- and intra-group competition (such as between forest fire-fighting crews from the same village or linguistic group) to their economic advantage. Taking advantage of this useful competitiveness in the classroom may well prove to be an advantage in furthering the secondary education of Athabascans. In any event, it is the careful delineation of these tendencies and their potential in the classroom which needs further elaboration through this research.

The long-term academic debate between the proponents of the importance of psychocultural versus social structural factors in acculturation must also be considered in this research. (See DeVos and Hippler, 1969, for an overview of this research.) Briefly stated, those researchers who have stressed the primacy of psychocultural factors such as Bateson (1935), Jacques (1957), Hallowell (1963), and Gillin (1942) have argued that successful culture change (and we by extension apply this reasoning to education) tends to be a function of the personality "fit" or lack of it with the dominant group. Parker (1962) in fact has used similar formulations predicting Eskimo achievement based on an anlysis of thematic analysis of children's fantasy productions. LeVine (1960) has used similar approaches to explain the differentially successful achievement of the Ibo in Nigeria.

Bradburn (1963) in a general discussion of culture change and achievement theory has suggested that in addition to a given psychocultural "set" the individual will be aided or hindered in acculturation by his perception both of the role expected of him and by his perception of the culture change "brokers" who assist or hinder the process.

A somewhat different perspective has been suggested by such researchers as Inkeles (1960) and Spiro (1961) who propose that the dominant factors in culture change are structural and that these structural factors themselves influence personality adaptation and hence adult behavior. A very strong proponent of

this general theoretical wing is James (1961) who in analyzing subarctic Ojibwa (similar in many regards to Athabascans) states that the structural position which Indians occupy in American society can more easily explain their basic personality than can this personality explain their position.

While there is a substantial literature available concerning the structural characteristics of boarding schools (King, 1967; Fuchs and Havighurst, 1972; Bergman, 1967) no information is available which compares the responses of different ethnic groups to boarding school experiences, examines the differential effects of variations in boarding school environments.

We believe that our research has provided a method of testing the theoretical issue mentioned and of developing an integration of these perspectives, at least in the microcosm of Alaska, toward pragmatic ends. We believe our findings permit us to compare the general effects of this divergent psychocultural background upon students and also permit a useful discussion of situational factors such as the location and nature of schools themselves, which clearly indicates a direction toward which secondary education in Alaska should go.

Procedures

To analyze the problems we have noted above and approach our objectives, we focused our research upon the single largest Alaska Native group, Eskimos. We reviewed the literature on Eskimo psychodyanmics, culture, family organization and values, and attemp-

ted as clear-cut a statement of these features in their present reality as we could. We also enlisted the aid of an entire community in administering Rorschach tests to a substantial proportion of the population across age groups so that our findings would not reflect the artifact of the immature responses of children alone, but provide the full context of the familial and cultural setting within which these occurred.

We then analyzed the nature of the educational experience, living conditions, school structure and children's responses to four different school environments, selected as representative of the available secondary school experience of Alaska Eskimos. While village elementary schools follow similar patterns, great diversity occurs at the secondary level which enabled us to examine responses to widely varying educational environments.

Specifically, Dr. Hippler, with the assistance of L. Bryce Boyer, Ruth Boyer, George A. DeVos, Orin Borders and Alice Tani Borders, administered and analyzed 118 Rorschach protocols from individuals of both sexes, ranging in age from five to over ninety years in a southern Eskimo village of about 450 persons. This, in addition to our previous research and to a literature analysis, provided the groundwork for statements about the nature of Eskimo cognitive and emotional organization.

At the same time, Dr. Kleinfeld worked with a sample of 132 students distributed 40 in a white city/white boarding home; 42 in an Eskimo town/public boarding school; 23 in an Eskimo

town/Eskimo boarding home; and 27 in an Eskimo village/mission boarding school. Dr. Kleinfeld administered California achievement tests and Raven's Progressive Matrices to determine levels of reading achievement and general ability, which provided concrete materials upon which to apply the more global "cultural psychological" setting of the Rorschach results.

Dr. Kleinfeld also analyzed the milieu of the various schools/communities and conducted interviews with dormitory staffs, counselors in the boarding homes, boarding home parents, probation officers and nurses and psychiatrists working in the schools; to measure the school's effects on mental health, she developed and scored measures of social and emotional problems and also administered Health Opinion Surveys to students when they entered school and after the completion of one years work. This work was done in collaboration with a psychiatrist, experienced in Eskimo mental health, Dr. Joseph Bloom.

Achievement tests were also administered to assess academic gains. One school environment, the Eskimo village/mission boarding school, was found to have unusually positive effects on Eskimo student development, after initial adjustment difficulties ended. This school became the subject of a detailed study, designed to find out how the school structure related to Eskimo personality dynamics and produced these exceptional benefits.

Additional Methodological Note

In our analysis of Eskimo "cultural personality," we rely upon not only an extensive review of the literature, including previous studies related to personality dynamics, but upon direct observation and the power of projective tests to suggest not merely present personality but the quality of previous child rearing experiences.

The retrospective analysis of present fantasy and cognitive productions to uncover ontogenetic causal relationships is certainly not new in psychoanalytic theory. That, plus the analysis of transference, are core devices in psychoanalysis.

While such approaches may at one time have been considered controversial outside of psychoanalysis, such tactics have received striking confirmation from non-psychoanalytic sources. Klein (1972), for example, has shown that independent, properly constructed and scientifically acceptable studies have shown that most of the crucial categories of psychoanalytic constructs and assumptions are verifiable and indeed have been verified.

This issue seems pertinent to document since we rely very heavily on psychoanalytically based analyses of the psychodynamics which are substantively causal in Eskimo behavior and predispositions. In addition, it seems necessary to establish this since there are periodic attacks on the use of psychoanalytic

theory and categories, especially when used outside of western culture.

Some such attacks are properly based. The uninformed and uncritical use of "instant" psychoanalysis is a painful embarrassment to its more serious users. Other objections are charitably stated, perhaps less well grounded. Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that a series of studies using the Human Relations Area Files, compiled at Yale University (Spiro and D'Audrade, 1958; Lambert, Triandis and Wolf, 1959; Whiting, 1959; Whiting and Child, 1953; and numerous others) have provided statistical support for psychoanalytically based propositions cross-culturally.

What is perhaps most interesting about these studies is that they are based on data collected mostly by people with no sophistication in observing the dynamics of interpersonal behavior in psychological terms and hence prone to vast amounts of distortion and random error, not to mention gross misjudgement.

That positive correlations at any degree of confidence could be uncovered which supported psychoanalytic propositions is clearly indicative of the power of such theory.

More directly related to one of the purposes of this study are the findings of Barton, Dielman and Cottell (1977). They analyzed responses from parents on a Child Rearing Practices Questionnaire and of the children of these parents on the High

School Personality Questionnaire. They found the majority of personality variables among the children could be significantly predicted from the child rearing practices measure.

Results

The cultural psychological setting

We have discussed elsewhere (Hippler, 1974) that a most parsimonious explanation for the apparent nearly antithetical perspectives taken toward Eskims by researchers through the years is to attempt to incorporate these into a psychodynamic framework which provides a realistic integration of them.

Specifically, the works directed toward Alaska Eskimo personality such as Chance (1965), Chance and Foster (1962), Lantis (1953, 1960), Parker (1962, 1964), J. Murphy (1964), Murphy and Hughes (1965), and Preston (1965), all of whom contributed substantially to our understanding of Eskimo psychodynamics, must be viewed in the framework of our increasing understanding of the complex interrelationship of various personality elements and must as well be seen diachronically for an historical perspective.

For example, from earliest contact times Bancroft (1890), Barrow (1846), Cook and King (1785), Deese and Simpson (1838), Franklin (1828), Jarvis, et al. (1899), Kotzebue (1821), Nelson (1900), Simonds (1852), J. simpson (1875), and T. Simpson (1843) noted a peculiar rapid alteration between friendliness and hostility, openness and secretive fearfulness, unpredictable attacks

on outnumbered parties, but fawning obeisance in the face of strength on the part of Eskimos.

The ethnographic and related literature of later years carries on this theme. There are essentially two constellations of behaviors, values and attitudes which appear in the literature. The first constellation consists of essentially positive elements such as gregariousness, openness, cooperation and friendliness and strong value proscribing violence and interference with others. The second constellation is concerned with such elements as high levels of interpersonal violence, fear of shamans, poor treatment of women and associated egocentric and anti-social attitudes (Hippler, 1975).

We use here a concept of "cultural personality" to integrate these perceptions. Similar to Devereux's (1956) "ethnic consciousness," we use this term not as a "modal personality" which as Wallace noted in 1952 is too simplistic, but as an ordering concept integrating the abstractions "personality" and "culture."

We suggest that, at least for small, relatively homogenous groups, cultural norms and values tend to be derived from dominant personality structures and are internalized as a "cultural personality." That is, these behavioral and attitudinal sets tend to mold even divergent personalities into constrained modes of operation. We believe that in the process of being internalized, this constraining function of shared norms, beliefs and

attitudes provides the core of shared defense systems and strategies as well as pressing through the creation of ego-ideals for certain aspects of ego organization to develop similarly in members of the group.

Though we believe Wallace (1961) was technically correct in noting varied modes of defense mechanism and primary process organization within a group, we believe the concept "mazeways" does not adequately explain psychodynamically the problem of the "replication of uniformity."

The concept "cultural personality" as we use it, we believe, does manage this task.

By "cultural personality" we mean that integrated whole of unconscious concerns and interests, defenses and coping mechanisms that can be said to characterize the members of a cultural group. "Cultural personality" also includes those institutionalized expressive behaviors which reflect defensively or creatively these fundamental concerns and which are part of the shared heritage of the group.

"Cultural personality," we believe, is relatively stable. Even when some overt behaviors change the fact that these are grounded in personality structures (which are slow to change) it implies that their unconscious meanings remain the same or similar (Jacques, 1957).

The concept does not demand that all individuals in the group have identical unconscious structures and defenses. It does, however, suggest that what diversity exists is to some degree overridden by the internalized pressure of that which is shared. That which is shared, both through identification and earlier introjection as well as later ego ideal creation, acts as a centripetol force on personality elements which might urge the individual to act in diverging fashion from the group; therefore, such actions are never free from psychic pain.

The "cultural personality" comes about, as does individual personality, as a result first and foremost of socialization techniques. Those socialization techniques, of course, must also be seen in the broad context of the setting.

Brief Background

The Alaska Eskimos, for our purposes, include the Eskimo population from Kaktovik on the border between Alaska and Canada around the North, West and South coast of Alaska to Prince William Sound. Characteristically, this was a semi-sedentary population. Some of these groups moved from place to place following caribou herds; others lived in permanent communities such as Tigara (Point Hope) or Barrow, but nonetheless moved at certain times of the year to fishing camps or hunting areas. The coastal population lived primarily off sea mammals, fish, birds, and caribou. The more interior North Alaska Eskimos traded caribou meat and fur for seal oil and maritime products. South-

west Eskimos tended to be more settled along river banks and coastal areas.

The dwellings of these people ranged from semi-subterranean driftwood, animal skin, and packed earth homes in the winter to tents in the summer. The former were occupied by a nuclear family or a bilateral or patrilineal extended family; there were rarely more than ten people in such dwellings.

By most accounts, though Stefansson (1913) takes some issue with this for Northern Eskimos, these Eskimos were extremely competent hunters. Because of their knowledge of sea ice and the landmarks of the area and their skill in manufacturing the implements necessary for exploiting their environment, they have generally been considered to be among the most competent hunting and gathering peoples on earth.

As a result of their efficiency in exploiting sea mammal populations, the coastal groups were able to live in sizeable villages (several hundred people), unlike their neighbors, the interior Eskimos or the subarctic Athabascans, who were faced with game-poor environments.

Eskimo socialization practices, which we shall discuss at length below, tended to be extremely lenient. The child was viewed as the reincarnation of a recently deceased relative and was kindly treated, partly for this reason. Enculturation was accomplished by example more than exhortation and rarely involved corporal punishment.

This attitude was reflected in adult life by a generally non-interfering cooperative attitude among adults, the lack of formal leaders, and a belief, supported by the cosmology, that all men and animals and indeed the universe were systematically bound to each other and part of each other.

In seeming paradox, individual murder was common, as was suicide; intergroup violence, though less common, was not rare. Interfamilial feuding was endemic. Nevertheless, sharing of the proceeds of the chase was the rule and, in the case of some sea mammals, highly formalized.

Eskimo values stressed cooperation, avoidance of aggression, subordination of oneself to others, honesty, openness, sharing of goods (and even marital partners under some circumstances) and the pragmatic reliance on reality-testing in all aspects of life.

At the same time, shamanism and witchcraft were ubiquitous. People feared many aspects of the supernatural, which they did not distinguish clearly from the natural world. Nearly all activities in life were circumscribed by a complex set of taboos that no one could avoid breaking and thus bringing on some personal or group misfortune.

Further, much of the interpersonal violence was caused by sexual jealousy and though they believed that goods existed in order to be shared, there was much resentment over those who abused this value. Nearly all misfortune was attributed to super-

natural intervention and to shamanism, but the shaman was considered necessary for bringing game and healing the sick (who nearly always became ill because of the acts of another shaman or because taboos were broken).

Although putatively leaderless and egalitarian, they suffered periodically from local "bullies" who would simply dominate local areas, arrogating privileges, goods, and wives to themselves. While Eskimos tended to be friendly, open, and smiling, they often stole from visiting whaling ships and were always unsure how to interpret each other's behavior if it strayed from the norm.

The foregoing seemingly paradoxical listing of attributes and attitudes is, we believe, incomprehensible until the core personality dynamics which underlie them are understood. These can best be isolated by an analysis of the impact of child socialization procedures, which produced the basic personality substrates upon which adult behavior was based, and which was further molded through the press of social structure into the Eskimo "cultural personality."

Socialization

As best we can determine whether in North Greenland, Canada or Alaska the patterns of early childhood seem very similar for all Eskimos (Ferguson, 1960; J. & I. Honigmann, 1953). The pertinence of this to Alaska Eskimo studies is indirect, but we believe crucial. It suggests that which psychoanalysts and others

involved in cross-cultural studies of puericulture have long postulated: forms of early childrearing are extremely conservative.

That is, whether overt behaviors seem different the attitudes conveyed in parenting, especially non-verbally to the pre-verbal child, resist rapid change since they result from unconscious dynamics poorly amenable to conscious manipulation. This observation appears supported by the work of Boyer (1964); R.M. Boyer (1962); Erikson (1966); Hippler, Boyer and Boyer (1976); Johnson and Szurck (1952); and Lubart (1970, 1976) among others.

Earliest childrearing

Certainly in the past the Eskimo child immediately after birth experienced very close physical and emotional contact with the mother. This earliest period described by Mahler (1975) (Mahler, Pine and Bergman, 1975) as the symbiotic period created what Boyer (Boyer, DeVos, Borders and Borders, 1978) calls "an intimate and resonating" relationship between mother and child.

Carried inside the mothers "atiqi" or parka hood, Boyer continues, the nude child was so much in the mothers awareness that she was rarely soiled by excrement after the first ten days of life. Though the infant is "objectless" in this period and is essentially experiencing a form of primary autism (Mahler, 1975), there is strong theoretical reason to believe that a base is set here for the development of the erotic component of the personality.

This earliest contact with the ever present mother appears to be among the very best recorded forms of early child care anywhere

about which we have observational literature. Gussow (1960), Spencer (1959), Parker (1962), and Hippler (1974) are only a few of the observers who have made this point.

On the other hand, in aboriginal times infanticide was common. Not only was infanticide common, but children could be and often were impulsively killed as unwanted infants up to about age six. Infanticide has been excused among Eskimos as an ecological necessity, but there is less than perfect support for that argument since in reality interior Athabascan populations which lived in far harsher environs than most Eskimos did not kill babies so frequently (Hippler, 1972b). There is at least the possibility to be explored that the capacity for true empathy may have been less developed than among some other groups.

Apart from that, however, the close skin contact, at least in aboriginal times and till very recently, was a fact of life. Not only does this develop a core of component sexual instincts due to the eroginicity of the contact, it puts the mother in close harmony with the infant so that she is aware of its needs. Indeed, the mother is seldom defecated or urinated upon because of this sensitive interaction.

This early period designated by Mahler, et. al. (1975) as the symbiotic phase finds the Eskimo infant fed on demand and given the breast whenever he or she becomes fussy. In Parkers words (1962:92), "The Eskimos...experience a relatively permis-

sive early child rearing in which there is minimal frustration of the needs for dependency and affection."

This early halcyon period is altered for the infant by two basic forms of frustration. The mother does tend to be intolerant of the infant's movement and attempts, often by subtle muscular gestures to keep his affectual responses to a minimum. Additionally, mothers often retreat from infants into sleep from which arousal is nearly impossible regardless of the loud and insistent cries of the infant. Boyer (personal communication) observed sequences up to two hours of infant distress unattended either by the mother or by any other household member.

In the period of differentiation, roughly from seven months to well into the second year (Mahler, et al., 1975, Spitz, 1957), the normally developing infant undergoes an awareness of his existence separate from the mother, feels the beginnings of autonomous urges and consequent desire to control his own functions. Near age two the infant develops the capacity and will to say "no" and to experiment with moving away from the mother physically.

Eskimo mothers tend to try to limit these autonomous urges. As Boyer et al. (1978) note: "As the child seeks increasingly to develop autonomous activity, Eskimo mothers begin a pattern of 'affectionate teasing'. This consists of holding the child away from her body at an awkward angle, pinching his cheeks, rubbing his forehead vigorously or frightening him to the point of crying: just as his face begins to grimace and tears appear, she laughs affectionately and comforts the baby."

When the child is provoked, either by her or other adults, its normal sense of frustration and anger in any overt form is strongly disapproved. The idea behind this prohibition against discharge is to keep the baby from trying to be "boss." The entire pattern of discouraging initiative and autonomy by cuddling and kissing the non-demanding and scolding the demanding baby is commented on by Foulks et al. (1977), and he, as well as Spencer (1959), find these themes strongly reflected in Eskimo folklore.

Additionally, since the baby is seen as a literal reincarnation of previous ancestors, if a male he is assumed to be that same "great hunter." He is encouraged in behavior supporting this notion and role, but other forms of autonomy continue to be discouraged. When the child will not become "properly" passive, it is simply physically restrained on the back pack or receives strong verbal disapproval.

Of crucial importance here is the fact that this tends to increase the Eskimo child's "field dependency" and makes the child throughout life anxious about shaming or disapproval--that is, no matter how adequate his activities, he is always diffident about them till others openly approve, for fear of their shame or disapproval. This, and other socialization experiences, as we shall note, also create a reservoir of anger at restrictions and desires for revenge which are nonetheless modified by fears of social disapprobation and hence only expressed overtly when the individual is under the influence of alcohol.

As the child moves into the toddler stage, it receives a curiously inconsistent set of signals concerning its autonomy. For example, from time to time it will be permitted to freely explore its physical environment, to the point of actual danger. "One should never tell anyone what to do." But on the other hand, perceived aggression or sometimes relatively minor misbehavior is sometimes reacted to in what must be a terrifying fashion for the child. Household members simply act as though the child is not there. Ignoring his behavior, parents will openly wonder where he is while he pleads, clinging to one or another, that he actually is there.

I have observed this only a few times, perhaps four or five in as many different families. I am convinced, however, that such an episode need not be repeated often to establish a truly terrifying message. In Erikson's (1964, 1966) terms, this must cause the child to experience a sense of alienation and existential anxiety which makes him attempt to develop a consistent sense of hope and true optimism difficult. Beyond that, it indicates a style of socialization likely recapitulated in other less dramatic but more continuous forms which produces similar messages.

Also, the young child is both teased somewhat by older siblings (when out of sight or control of parents) and its normal jealousy makes it wish to aggress against younger siblings. This is strongly discouraged, but the child does displace this anger onto dogs and other animals. I have observed what can only be

called sadistic and murderous stoning of chained dogs, or tearing apart of small birds captured in the bush. This displacement of anger does not end in early childhood, and because of that, dogs are a great danger in such communities, violently snapping at and attacking any child they can reach. Moreover, we may reasonably speculate that the content of much hunting is less instrumental (the provision of food) than expressive (the release of rage) and may account for the often nearly orgiastic slaughters of game beyond any possible consumption need.

The toddler also received the "affectionate teasing" which it experienced at an earlier age from its mother, now from other adults. The mother often observes this with tolerant amusement. She may act as protector during these episodes, though not consistently. The external social world becomes even more clearly for the child an occasion of danger, ameliorated only by his capacity to sense others' feelings and anticipate how he must modify his actions to placate them and, most importantly, ameliorated by his over idealized mother.

In later life, his passive, smiling, controlled demeanor keeps social anxieties at a distance, and the degree to which he feels he can live up to his mother's expectations provides the limited keys to security which he posseses. That is, in Kernberg's (1975) and Volkan's (1976) terms, the external and internalized relationship with mother and wife as mother surrogate are the core of the tenuous security system and sense of well-being.

Ridicule, joking and shaming remain the major socializing tactics, alternating with actual disinterest and neglect. For example, during the anal phase, from about two to three years of age, the child is often naked from the waist down and is teased and ridiculed when he defecates or urinates in inappropriate locations. He is rarely praised, however, for "correct" behavior. This extends into other areas of mastery in later life. In hunting, etc., the growing child and young adult is rewarded by the absence of disapproval, punished by joking, shaming and ridicule (though very seldom by spankings or other violence). Self-esteem remains vulnerable and as R.K. Nelson notes (1969) even very adequate hunters feel deflated, humiliated and depressed by disapprobation.

We might note once more the ease with which such feelings can elicit murderous anger and the difficulty in expressing that anger which also characterize the adult. But much anger is directed inward as well. Kraus (1972, 1977) who has studied Eskimo suicide extensively and longitudinally has also collected a series of Eskimo "shame dreams," in which the manifest content is being pointed at ridiculed and laughed at. He perceives this as evidence that the shaming socialization technique is the most substantial trauma the child undergoes. He further links increase of suicide attempts (we personally witnessed five such attempts in a two-month period of young females 18-23 in one community of 500 people, probably reflecting a 10,000 percent greater incidence than would normally be found elsewhere) to increase in family size.

Traditionally, family size appears to have been small, rarely greater than three living children. The near disappearance of infanticide and dramatic declines in infant mortality due to improved access to medical care has resulted in families of eight or ten children becoming common. Consequently, reduced time for early intimacy and intense gratification seems a necessary pre-condition for the kind of "burnt child" syndrome Boyer et al. (1978) find and which we shall support with their Rorschach analyses below.

On the other hand, previous to this cultural change in family size, the fact that infants were murdered, routinely given away to infertile friends or relatives or died of numerous causes cannot help but have reinforced magical beliefs of children that their jealous anger and murderous wishes toward siblings were in fact efficacious (Boyer, 1964; Boyer and Boyer, 1972; Hippler, Boyer and Boyer, 1976). That this weakened the capacity to effectively repress murderous impulses seems patent.

Suicide among young Eskimos has as well a strong common psychological denominator of fantasy of reunion with a lost love object (Hippler, 1969; Kraus, 1977). Kraus had earlier noted (1972) that impulsive Eskimo suicide behavior was related to panic depression and rage. Boyer (1976a), noted in Boyer et al. (1978), suggests that hostility turned against the self is a common psychodynamic aspect of suicide.

Defenses against these feelings of anxiety and depression fear of rejection and sense of worthlessness are commonly con-

structed by Eskimos of grandiosity. Defensive beliefs in omnipotence and extraordinary powers are routinely found by psychoanalysts in those who actually feel very inadequate. For Eskimos, as Foulks et al. (1977) note, there often took the form of belief that one could fly, travel under the ocean, communicate with spirits and animals, effect the coming and going of game and alter the climate, even to influence the course of life and death for other people or cause them to hallucinate events which put them in danger of their life. All of these elements are also aspects of shamanistic behavior and to some extent characterized some aspects of piblokto, a traditional culture-bound dyscrasia, and are noted among others by Ducey (1976, 1977), Eliad (1951), Kraus (1972), Lommel (1967) and Park (1938).

As Lubart (1966) notes, Eskimos experience intense anxiety when separated from others as their sense of well-being is so dependent upon approbation and "refueling" from others. Boyer et al. (1978) suggest this is only adequately defended against by the isolated Eskimo on the tundra or sea to the extent that his fantasized narcissistic and expansive feelings of reunion with the mother are available for re-elicitation. We might add that this anxiety is also probably the essential underpining of the defensive risk taking and adventurous sense of invulnerability which appears to characterize the counter-phobic dangerous risks run by some Eskimos alone on hunting trips.

As the child matures, the anger at others, the narcissistic and defensive expansiveness and increased physcial capacity to

actually do damage to others must be controlled in some cultural form. Recognizing the anxiety and hence ferocity potentially elicited by intrusive behaviors, fearful of intimacy yet massively field dependent, sensitive to interpersonal cues, yet angered at the need for such sensitivity, Eskimos developed a non-intrusive smiling, indirect, non-censorious and non-judgemental form of social interactions. Putatively egalitarian, they never developed any aboriginal adjudicative tactics for interpersonal complaints. One was expected not to interfere with others. If the power of public opinion did not sway an individual, however, he could and did steal and kill, limited only by his appreciation of the power of his victims to retaliate.

Paradoxically, this very egalitarianism made it difficult to intervene to stop the individual who was anti-social. Responses to the violent "bully" were acquiescence, physically moving away, or killing him. In fact, at times some men would band together to kill a man who had stopped smiling in the certain belief that this indicated his intent to murder. Since all infractions upon personal autonomy were felt potentially to elicit murderous rage, the continuing fear of Eskimos was not merely social disapprobation, but the omnipresent and real probability of retaliatory murder.

Not until the coming of U.S. law was there an effective reliable way of enforcing rules. However, since few Eskimos are comfortable with telling another what to do, its enforcement tends

to remain essentially in non-Eskimo hands (Hippler and Conn, 1975, 1974a, 1974b; Hippler, 1974).

This generalized description of Alaska Eskimo socialization, its attendent psychodynamic underpinings and outcomes and its cultural expression are well supported by Rorschach analyses. But they should also be seen in the sociocultural framework of present Eskimo life.

Brief Overview of Sociocultural Dimensions

While contact with Euro-Americans and to some limited extent Russians dated from the 1700s (Southwest Alaska), the bulk of actual exploratory travel by Euro-Americans dates from the early 1800s. By the 1840s, whaling ships were common in the area, and by 1867 sovereignty over Alaska was transferred from Russia to the United States.

Initial concern with aboriginal Alaska populations took several forms. As the 19th century came to a close, the increased number of gold miners demanded more substantial extension of social controls (U.S. marshalls, judges) by the U.S. government. At about this time, the Department of Education (later Bureau of Indian Affairs) began to take a direct interest in Alaska Native well-being.

Early missionaries and teachers (often the same persons) were concerned with extending education, Christianizing the population, extending better medical care and introducing useful technologies. Various religious denominations "divided up" Alaska

for purposes of proselytizing, and still today Eskimo areas are predominantly Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Moravian, etc., depending upon initial missionary activity.

Beyond this, probably as a result of Indian wars in the west and southwest of the continental U.S., military reconnaisance operations were directed at a number of regions with the purpose of mapping the areas and determining the nature of the population.

There was in no sense, however, a military conquest for any Alaska Eskimo regions. Contacts were essentially peaceful with occasional conflicts involving individual Euro-Americans and Eskimos.

During the period around the turn of the century, numerous whaling captains settled in Eskimo coastal villages, married Eskimo women and became progenitors of many of the present day "Eskimo" leadership. At this time, also under guidance of missionaries, teachers and law enforcement personnel, Eskimos began to form local governing units called village councils.

The period roughly 1900-1945 marked a quiet, peaceful, only slightly altered Eskimo way of life contrasted to pre-contact times. Murder, once endemic, was dramatically decreased by the removal from villages, at village council insistence, by Coast Guard cutters of recividist dangerous persons. Councils, using a uniquely Eskimo form of non-confrontational, mildly intrusive tactics, actually expanded the concept of local control substantially.

Law enforcement agents were only too glad of this development. The vast distances, isolation and cultural and language differences involved made direct involvemet and control by U.S. government into Eskimo affairs extremely difficult. This is the period during which much ethnographic work was done and may have strongly contributed to the concept of the "peaceful, cooperative" Eskimo.

As early as the 1920s, however, Eskimos or part-Eskimos were taking an active interest in the politics of the then territory. World War II saw a massive increase in culture contact for some communities and also the formation of the Eskimo scouts, through which vast numbers of rifles were made easily available to Eskimos, of great benefit in hunting. Further, the disciplined structure and need for local non-commissioned (and eventually commissioned) officers, created a core of Eskimos at least partially trained in lower level executive and administrative arts.

From the mid-1950s on, changes accelerated in Eskimo communities.

1. By 1955 nearly all individual "tundra Eskimos" or roving bands had settled into permanent villages.
2. The birth rate was very high (among the highest rates recorded) and the death rate, especially the infant mortality rate, was extremely high. It was a slowly growing society.
3. Interest in politics increased with the election of local Eskimos into territorial legislature.

This circumstance was dramatically altered through the last half of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s.

1. Public Health Service undertook a massive campaign to eradicate tuberculosis, upper respiratory infection, otitis media and high infant pathology and morbidity rates. They were dramatically successful. The infant death rate plummeted, the birth rate remained high and the population "exploded." By 1966 in some communities 65-70 percent of the population was under 14 years of age.

2. A massive increase in school building, hiring and training of teachers, etc., was undertaken by B.I.A.

3. The above two facts (along with other territorial, state and federal spending--airport facilities, etc.) led to a boom bust cycle of employment.

The first really substantial cash employment available to Eskimos came on the north coast with U.S. Navy employment of Eskimos--quickly followed by numerous other public and private enterprises.

4. Eskimos began to be elected to the state legislature.

5. Nascent signs were emerging of Eskimo political desires mostly centered around the extinguishment of Alaska Native land claims.

By the early 1970s, many Eskimo villages had become so completely embedded in the cash economy that subsistence hunting and fishing had become at best supplementary but often was merely recreational or culture validating.

Eskimos were beginning to attend the University of Alaska in fairly large numbers. The land claims settlement, which provided regional corporations to administer the substantial land and cash payments which the settlement provided, began to offer local opportunity for educated Eskimos.

Local control in the form of village police and magistrates became a reality, and, for the most part, Eskimo society could be said to be entering a near-transformational stage.

While some aspects of change had been objectively unpleasant (forced use of English in schools, separation from parents to attend distant schools, need to adapt to unfamiliar structure and financial instruments), by and large little if any of what could be called "exploitation" or "oppression" marked these changes.

Change, which is always stressful, no doubt creates some of the Eskimo educational difficulties which we note. Nonetheless, we strongly believe that it is most inappropriate to assume that the difficulties faced by Eskimos in these changing circumstances were the direct result of "white oppression." This seems important to indicate because it sets a framework for our analysis, a framework which is substantially different from that of the Apache or Sioux, for example.

With these contexts in mind, we turn to the results of the Rorschach analysis.

The psychocultural setting as expressed in the Rorshach

One hundred eighteen protocols were collected from Yukon Delta Eskimos (see Boyer, DeVos, Borders, and Day, 1978, for an extended discussion of this material). We abstract these findings here from this soon to be published work.

Protocols were scored and analyzed in three different ways: 1) frequency of formal content for each card and comparison of populars against U.S. midwestern Caucasian populars obtained by Beck et al., 1959, and revised by DeVos (Miner and DeVos, 1960); 2) traditional categories and standard ratios were scored; 3) responses were also scored for symbolic and/or affective meaning using DeVos (1952, 1955).

Popular Responses

Following Beck (Beck et al., 1950) popular $\geq$ 15 percent $\leq$ responses per card.

Analysis: populars

Similar populars

CARD 1	bat, butterfly
CARD 2	animals
CARD 3	people
CARD 4	fur
CARD 5	winged creature
CARD 6	animal skin
CARD 7	people
CARD 8	animals
CARD 9	
CARD 10	spider, bug, crab

Significant differences: humans

		Eskimos	Midwestern U.S.	Sig.
CARD I	human figure	10%	31.7%	.001
CARD III	two people	27%	59.2%	.001
CARD IX	humans or human figure	10%	26.7%	.01
	man's face	10%	26.7%	.01

Far fewer Eskimos gave human responses. This generally signifies a poorly developed capacity for empathy or identification with the experiences of others (Klopfer et al., 1954). Inferentially, this implies a more immature quality to Eskimo interpersonal experiences than among midwestern adults. Also, according to Boyer et al. (1978), the absence or reduction "of human populars tends to signify difficulties in the experience of human relationships," possibly reflecting a deep anxiety about deep interpersonal relationships. In object theory terms (Kernberg, 1975; Volkan, 1976), such an incapacity also reflects conflicted internalized object relations.

This tends to support the view that Eskimo socialization practices are "stultifying to the ego maturation of the child" (Boyer et al. 1978) and overall result in a blunting of his capacities for empahtic interpersonal experiences.

Response times

No significant differences.

Rigidity

Based on Fisher (1950).

Comparison of Mean Scores of Rorschach Indices of Yukon Delta Eskimo and Beck Midwestern Samples

	Eskimo			Midwestern		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Fisher's Rigidity Score	40.6	33.8	37.2***	27.7	26.8	27.3
Fisher's Maladjustment Score	42.0	41.3	41.7**	34.0	30.0	32.1
Response Total	17.0	22.6	19.7	32.2	30.6	30.9
Animal %	62.3	61.6	62.0	47.3	48.0	47.7
Human Movement	0.8	1.1	1.0	3.9	3.0	3.4
Sum Color	1.7	2.6	2.1	*	*	*
Rare Detail %	16.6	20.9	18.6	*	*	8.7
Number of Subjects Who Gave at Least One Rejection	28	21	48**	*	*	4

*Information not available.
**p = .001
***p = .01

The T Test could not be used for means because the Beck sample did not provide individual scores.

Rigidity defined as tendency toward stereoptypy or reduced emotional flexibility compared to the Beck sample.

Eskimo sample shows rigidity 10 points higher than Beck sample.

This is consistent with dimished perception of human content.

Movement (Human) M (actualization of emotions in the interpersonal world)

1. W = 2 M = unrealistically high level of aspiration (Klopfer, 1954).

Human Movement Responses per Record

		0	1	2-4	5+
n = 116	Eskimos	53	35	26	2
n = 60	Midwesterners	9	7	27	17

(p - .001)

	W > M	W ≤ M	W > 2M
Eskimos	97	19	17
Midwesterners	31	22	Not recorded

(p < .001)

Only 116 records are considered here because two protocols did not meet minimal requirements for inclusion.

Implication: Eskimo difficulties in realizing life's ambitions.

2. M FM ratio

M ≧ FM (animal movement) optimal balance of emotional maturity (Klopfer, 1954).
FM > 2M impulsivity, ruled by immediate gratification, low level of anxiety tolerance, preoccupation with egocentric needs, marked failure in empathy with needs of others.

78% Eskimo records are of FM > 2M score. (Based primarily on low M and elevated FM.)

Implication: Eskimos experienced inner impulses as ego alien, tendency toward impulsivity. However, since Color (C) scores are low and R is dominated by F (form response), it is not clear to Boyer et al. (1978) whether the usual Eskimo is impulsive generally or only in unusual circumatances, i.e., heightened external stress or reduced inhibition such as influence of alcohol.

Further anlaysis - see below - suggest impulsivity control is established through withdrawal from and wariness of emotional relationships (the burnt child), due to unlikeliness of emotional gratification.

3. M ≶ C ratio (the primary experience balance) The extent to which a person focusses on his own internal expriences and imaginative functions (introversive) or focuses on external experiences and responds to them (extratensive). M = introversive; C = extratensive.

M>2≶C = introversive balance
≶C>2M = extratensive
M=C = nonconflictual mixture of both orientations

Eskimos show strong extratensive balance (low M rather than high C).

Implication: Eskimos show substantial field dependency and somewhat impoverished inner life.

4. FM shading ratio.

Non-human movement (FM) versus shading is the secondary experience balance. That is, non-human movement is a latent sign of the underdeveloped potential for human movement responses and shading is an emotionally toned down version of color.

Thus non-human movement may reflect a potentially rich inner life (introversive) shading may reveal an extratensive capacity for emotional reactivity.

Eskimos: 39 percent show an introversive secondary experience balance in contradistinction to the overwhelmningly extrotensive primary experience. 37 protocols actually show a shift to introversive from extratensive on these measures.

Implication: A substantial core percent of Eskimo retain a persistent though probably unconscious orientation toward inner directed modes of experience. This may reflect a better, warmer, or longer warmer infantile socialization whose impact leaves an irreducible minimum of capacity to generate internal motivations.

Since such modes are repressed, such individuals would have conflicts regarding how to relate to individuals in the external world and to their internalized object relations.

5. Achromatic versus chomatic color.

Achromatic = muted or inhibited trends toward emotional reactivity.
Chromatic color = freer emotional responsivity.
Achromatic (black and white - also includes shading and texture responses).

pure shading = undifferentiated, infantile crude need for tactual, physical affection (which may be poorly integrated in the total personality).

texture = passive affectional needs.

achromatic C = control over outward expression of emotion through detachment from emotional impact, due to wariness of genuine emotional involvement.

achromatic 2 C = capacity to respond to external stimuli has been disrupted by emotional trauma, i.e., the burnt child syndrome. Metaphor is if the warmth of the store attacted the child who was burnt and has become wary of warmth.

Burnt child needs for affection from others so great that person has muted and inhibited his overt reactions to others lest he be hurt or rejected.

Boyer notes that this syndrome is more easily found in psy-

chiatric patients who are borderline personalities and in schizophrenics rather than neurotics. The implication is that it results from a deep, early disorder at the level productive of psychotic disorders. (Though, of course, this does not imply that Eskimo levels of clinical pathology are extremely high. The study does not address this issue.)

Boyer (1978) quotes Searles (1958, 1961), who hypothesizes that deeply denied positive feelings are the most potent determinants of the relationship between a schizophrenic and his mother. Again, without a direct suggestion of clinical epidimology, this is strongly characteristic of Eskimo protocols.

Eskimos: 60 percent of the Eskimo protocols meet the burnt child syndrome test and an additional 20 percent clearly trend in that direction. Nearly all the protocols show a distinct wariness about emotion and expectations of warmth.

Implication: The strongest single, nearly overwhelming indicator that Eskimo emotional and inner life is one in which anxiety and poor experience with love has made emotional expression of affection nearly intolerable. There are strong passive dependent needs for affection, but these are uncomfortably expressed in actual interpersonal relations. It follows, Boyer notes (1978), that Eskimos are equally uncomfortable with their internalized object relations.

This finding appears to be of unusual importance, since Klopfer suggests such dynamics should routinely only be found in

about 4 percent of a population. This tendency among Eskimos, however, reaches the level of a truly unique cultural style and its implications for Eskimo education seem substantial as we shall note below. There is even some reason to believe that the percentages of this syndome are artificially low in the sample. While very few people refused the Rorschach, seven old women, reputed to be suspicious and hostile, did. Their inclusion in Table VI would very likely have actually increased the percent of burnt child syndrome.

Table IV

Color Responses per Record

	0	1	2+
n = 116 Eskimos	16	15	85
n = 60 Midwesterners	7	12	41

(n. significant difference)

	M < sum C	M = sum C	M > sum C	M < 2 sum C
Eskimos	73	24	20	52
Midwesterners	22	8	30	Not recorded

($p < .001$)

Only 117 Eskimo records are considered here because one protocol did not meet minimal requirements for inclusion.

Affective Inferences

In addition to scoring the Roschach along classic lines, Boyer et al. also scored the responses for their affective inferences using a schema developed by DeVos (1952, 1961) and which has had extensive clinical usage (Singer, 1961; Thayler, Weiner and Rieser, 1957; Weiner et al, 1957; DeVos, 1955; Miner and DeVos, 1960).

Responses are scored in six general categories: Hostility, Anxiety, Bodily Preoccupation, Dependency, Positive Affect, and Miscellaneous Affect. (These are further divided into 54 subcategories.)

Scoring Results	Eskimos	Midwesterners
Hostility	No significant difference in overall. However, Midwesterners score higher on overt hostility and depreciation; Eskimos score higher on indirect and sadomasochistic material.	
Anxiety	21.7%	13.8%
	Includes the fact of card rejection which is much higher for Eskimos. Much more depressive and dysphoric content and lifeless objects. Also some sex differentiation confusion. Eskimo men quickly withdraw from potential threats. Women's sexual anxiety was more hysteric, men were concerned with potency. I interpret this as having less to do with sexual functioning than with displaced and concretized body destruction anxiety.	
Bodily Preoccupation	Little difference in sum scoring. Women tend to show up here as more hysterical--men as more primitively disturbed at a sadomasochistic level.	
	Overall unpleasant affect again shows women as more somaticizing, men as more constrictive. Generally, levels of unpleasant affect were substantially higher for men nd women vis-a-vis midwesterners.	
Dependency	No sign difference overall within Eskimo group; however, dependency responses, usually assumed as ego syntonic for children, are lowest in number among children.	
Positive Affect	8.1%	17.1%
	Substantial difference. Only high category of positive affect for Eskimos was childish. Strong cathexis to childhood for Eskimos. On the other hand, children do not show positive responses. The strong implication is that they have	

not yet built up defenses against the burnt child syndrome. Men have lower averages, are more constricted than women and become more neutral. Since neutral responses for men cluster in the 15-24 year age group, it is likely that this signifies the ages at which constriction is the most popular defense.

The full implication of these findings is out of the scope of this report, but some of its obvious implications for education can at least be noted.

1. Basic interferences in fundamental trust which seem to characterize the vast majority of Alaska Eskimos in the community studied appear to be initiated just prior to the onset of differentiation of self-other, and to extend into the beginning of the latency period. It is a reasonable assumption then that cognitive functioning, certainly wherever contaminated by emotional sets, would be negatively affected. Specifically, we should expect to find that favored cognitive operations should lie in the concrete operations area, as these are least likely to be massively distorted by interpersonal realities.

2. The child all through latency will experience problems in empathy and in development of abstract operational thinking where this involves emotions, interpersonal interaction, or its surrogates.

3. The child will continuously wish for interpersonal warmth from teachers (parent surrogates) but will be easily discouraged by even minor semblances of disaffection.

4. In the early adolescent period, when earliest

emotional issues are being reworked at the same time that substantial demands are being made for cognitive development and integration, the nature of the perceived interpersonal nexus would be crucial for proper intellectual functioning, sublimation and adult role experimentation.

5. Depression and even suicidal impulses as well as ego dystonic episodes of self disparagement should characterize children in these age groups if they perceive a recapitulation of the "burnt child" situation in their present circumstances.

6. Optimal solutions to the needs of Eskimo secondary school children should be achieved by:

a) circumstances in which the greatest amount of perceived warmth and group support are offered as this should provide the best buttressing possible against the anxieties of the "burnt child."

and cannot easily be achieved by:

b) impersonal, objectively professional teaching styles which should prove to be counter-productive.

Judith Kleinfeld's findings in her portion of this research seem very strongly to support this notion, and indeed the Rorschach and cultural findings act as strong support to ideas Dr. Kleinfeld had developed independently of them.

Dr. Kleinfeld examined the effects of four representative boarding schools on 132 Alaska Eskimo adolescents during their freshman and sophomore years. In general, she found that boarding

schools tend to be impersonal environments where small groups of village friends are the major sources of interpersonal warmth. School staff members tend to be perceived as distant and disparaging. Rivalries between student groups from different villages further impede the development even of group support within the student body. These schools therefore appeared to elicit or at least be the situs of serious psychological disturbances for Eskimo students (see Kleinfeld and Bloom, 1977).

The exception to this pattern was a Catholic boarding school staffed in large part by young volunteer teachers who lived at the school and developed close interpersonal relationships with the students outside the classroom and provided substantial core stimulation and approval to the students. At the same time, this school stressed "Christian" ideals of group unity and concern as well as responsibility for others. This, in turn, acted to combat the tendencies of students to cluster into isolated hostile village groups and created a general school atmosphere of warmth and community.

In this school, entering freshman developed some emotional problems related to homesickness and adjustment to school routines. These problems dissipated, however. The school's graduates tended to be unusually successful in college and to adapt effectively when they returned to a village environment. This success appeared related not to higher cognitive growth but to greater emotional integration.

In the climate of this school, students developed a unified value system that enabled them to adapt to different cultural contexts without loss of a sense of coherent identity. This research has been reported extensively elsewhere (Kleinfeld and Bloom, 1977; Kleinfeld, 1977).

In this report, we include the material from the first article which was published within the space constraints of the journal format. This article focuses on the mental health problems in the three typical impersonal boarding schools. However, it contains a brief summary of the dynamics of the Catholic boarding school. The more detailed study of this school, however, is contained in a monograph of approximately 175 pages. It is currently being reviewed by the school at issue and by others in the disciplined area of cross-cultural education studies. (A copy will be sent to N.I.E. after final revision.)

Since most Alaska Native students leave home for secondary education and go to boarding schools, the issue of the structure and content of these schools and its "mesh" with Alaska Native emotional/cognitive/cultural needs, could best be answered by posing the questions:

1. "What proportion of children who leave home for high school actually develop school related social and emotional problems, and how severe are such problems?

2. Are these problems primarily initial adjustment difficulties that diminish over time, or are they continuing difficulties

due to negative influences in the boarding school environment itself?

3. Do various types of boarding program environments have differing effects on the incidence and severity of school related problems?" (Kleinfeld and Bloom, 1977:412.)

The study strategy pursued by Dr. Kleinfeld was to combine a) monitoring of development of social and emotional problems of a sample of Eskimo adolescents, b) ethnographic type analysis of the schools involved, c) psychological studies of individual students to examine any linkage between the school environment and the state of the students.

Though initially planned as a four year study, the study was terminated at the students' sophomore year due to 58 percent dropout rates reducing the sample too much for meaningful inferences. This fact itself, of such a massive dropout rate, is an important datum which we shall discuss below.

The Four Boarding Schools (Kleinfeld and Bloom, 1977)

The following high schools were selected for study primarily because they represented the widest range of boarding school environments in Alaska.

1. White city/white boarding home. In this program, most village students lived with white families and attended a city high school with over 1,000 students. This program represented a highly "western" environment with an abrupt cultural transition and

a high degree of separation from kin. However, the home setting did provide the opportunity (not necessarily realized) for students to receive substantial individual attention and to develop long-term emotional relationships with significant adults. The ratio of 2 boarding home parents to a group of 1 to 6 boarding home students is substantially higher than the ideal 1 to 15 staff-student ratio recommended by the Indian Health Committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics.

2. Eskimo town/public boarding school. This was a conventional boarding school that was somewhat better than average in facilities, staffing, and harmony of student group. It had a modern, well-equipped school plant, a ratio of 1 dormitory attendant on duty to 80 students, and a small, homogenous Eskimo student body. During the second year of the study this boarding school, which enrolled village students from the region, was consolidated with a nearby town high school, which enrolled mainly more acculturated Eskimo students. At the same time a budget cut reduced the number of dormitory attendants and the recreation program. Observing what happened to the village students when the school environment changed abruptly was useful in examining the role of the school in influencing social and emotional problems.

3. Eskimo town/Eskimo boarding home. In this program village children experienced little cultural discontinuity. Most lived with Eskimo families in a regional town close to their home villages and attended a high school in which Eskimos were the majority. Students visited relatives in town, went home often for weekends,

ate salmon and seal oil, and spoke Eskimo. However, the town itself, like many rapidly changing meeting points of western and Eskimo culture, was a disorganized community with high levels of alcoholism, violence, and other social problems.

During the second year of the study a regional high school and dormitory complex opened and most of the students in our sample moved to the dormitory. The facilities rivaled anything to be found in Alaska's cities. The school had a curriculum incorporating the newest educational concepts, such as an open-entry/open-exit language arts program for the benefit of students who left school early to hunt, and a no-fail grading system. Observing what happened to the same group of children when the school changed was useful in sorting out school influences.

4. Eskimo village/mission boarding school. This small Catholic boarding school located in a small village is widely known in the villages for a family atmosphere, a disciplined and demanding academic environment, and unusually successful and well-adjusted graduates. The school plant was dilapidated and the school program highly traditional. However, the school was largely staffed by young and energetic lay volunteers who developed close relationships with many of the students, although not usually the new freshmen. In both its formal curriculum and informal activities the school radiated a clear set of standards based on the pivotal value of helping others. These high standards created substantial pressures on the students, and they were separated from home villages for most of the year.

The Student Sample

Our sample totaled 132 students--40 in the white city-white boarding home program, 42 in the Eskimo town-public boarding school, 23 in the Eskimo town-Eskimo boarding home program, and 27 in the Eskimo village-mission boarding school. Students typically came from a village of about 250 people accessible only by bush plane. The majority of their parents (86%) had not completed the eighth grade, spoke predominantly Eskimo or both Eskimo and English (89%), and supported their families by subsistence hunting and fishing supplemented by seasonal wage employment. The students were generally overage for high school; 15 years was the average age at entry. Almost half the group had reading levels of fifth grade or below.

No statistically significant differences were found between the students entering the four types of high schools in reading achievement, general ability as measured by Raven's Progressive Matrices, size of village, parents' education and employment, or parental language. However, the Eskimo students entering the public boarding school came from a region of greater early western contact and were somewhat more acculturated, as evidenced by a significantly greater proportion who spoke only English ($x^2=24.29$, df=3, p .01) and a significantly lower age at high school entry ($x^2=46.67$, df=15, p .01). The private boarding school enrolled students from a particularly isolated and traditional Eskimo area. These students spoke little English, had reading scores at the second- and third-grade levels, and entered school at 16 to 18 years.

Measurement of School-Related Social and Emotional Problems

Assessing psychological disturbance is notoriously difficult in an adolescent population, and the problem is obviously compounded when the adolescents are from a different culture. The approach we adopted was based both on the research literature on indicators of mental health and on our own experience. One researcher (Judith Kleinfeld), an educational psychologist, worked as a consultant to the state boarding program; another (Joseph Bloom), a psychiatrist, was familiar with forms of psychological disturbance in an Eskimo population. In examining students' psychological health and its relationship to the school environment, we used a combination of indicators to detect varying forms of psychological disturbance.

1. Sociolegal problems were measured by using reportable events such as heavy drinking, drug use, arrests, promiscuity, and suicide gestures and attempts. These were assessed through interviews with dormitory staff, boarding home counselors, boarding home parents, probation officers, and nurses and psychiatrists working in the schools. Since such behaviors are often dramatic and interfere with smooth school functioning, staff tended to be highly aware of this kind of psychological disturbance.

2. Emotional problems. Lists were developed to measure indicators such as depression, homesickness, anxiety, fearfulness, and withdrawal, together with behavioral symptoms of such problems, such as not speaking in class or chronic absenteeism.

Scales were developed and ratings made by a teacher familiar with the students' classroom behavior and by a dormitory or boarding home counselor familiar with students' behavior out of school. The incidence of such problems, however, is probably considerably understated in this study since program staff often had little knowledge of students who did not cause trouble.

3. The Health Opinion Survey. To more adequately assess changes in psychological health of students who were not known to school staff, the Health Opinion Survey, a measure of psychophysiological symptoms such as loss of appetite and insomnia, was given to students when they first entered high school and again at the end of the freshman year (see Murphy and Hughes, 1965 for a discussion of this approach). The Health Opinion Survey has been found reliable for use with an Eskimo adolescent population (Kleinfeld and Bloom, 1974). It is generally valid for Eskimo adults, although no validity study has been done for Eskimo adolescents (Bloom and Kleinfeld in preparation).

4. Program withdrawal. A common response of Eskimo adolescents to an uncomfortable situation is to withdraw; thus, school drop-out and transfer rates were useful adjustment indicators. In addition to interviewing school staff on the reasons for withdrawal, we sent a letter to each student asking why he had left the program (average response rate = 66%).

5. Anecdotal description. In addition to completing rating scales, school staff were asked to detail what had happened to the student during the year, especially regarding changes in mood and behavior.

6. Biographical information. Background information that might indicate psychological disturbance or special problems prior to school entrance was reviewed from the student's application packet containing the elementary school teacher's evaluations and the student's medical history. (This information was not collected in the private boarding school.)

On the basis of the combined information available, three types of ratings were made at the end of each student's freshman and sophomore year:

1. Probability of disturbance. Following procedures developed by Leighton for the Stirling County study (Leighton, 1963), an "A" rating indicated a definite psychiatric disturbance, a "B" rating, a probable disturbance, a "C" rating, a possible disturbance, and a "D" rating, no disturbance.

2. Severity of disturbance. The student's problems were evaluated as serious, mild, or no disturbance.

3. Relationship of disturbance to the school environment. The student's problems were judged school related if they probably would not have occurred if the student had not been at the school or if the school seriously aggravated an existing problem.

The psychiatrist on the research team made these ratings following a reliability check (criterion of 80% agreement) made with another psychiatrist who was psychiatric consultant to the state boarding programs. Despite our attempts to gather many types of information from different people who knew the students,

in many cases we did not have enough information to make a reasonable judgment on the severity of the disturbance or its relationship to the school setting. In such cases the student was omitted from the data analysis. This procedure would lead to possible error on the side of underestimating the incidence of psychological problems.

Results and Discussion

Village Eskimo adolescents at these boarding schools evidenced a high degree of psychological disturbance (see table 1). Of the 132 students 34 percent of the freshmen were judged to have definite or probable disturbance and another 37 percent, possible disturbance.

TABLE 1
Probability of Mental Health Problems Among Village Eskimo Students in Four Boarding Environments

Environment	Definite Disturbance		Probable Disturbance		Possible Disturbance		No Disturbance	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
FRESHMEN								
White city/white boarding home (N=40)	8	20	6	15	16	40	10	25
Eskimo town/public boarding school (N=42)	2	5	10	24	13	31	17	40
Eskimo town/Eskimo boarding home (N=23)	8	35	5	22	8	35	2	9
Eskimo village/mission boarding school (N=27)	1	4	5	19	14	52	7	26
Total (N=132)	19	14	26	20	51	37	36	27
SOPHOMORES								
White city/white boarding home (N=17)	0	0	3	18	4	24	10	53
Eskimo town/public boarding school (N=37)	5	14	10	27	14	38	8	22
Eskimo town/Eskimo boarding home (N=14)	3	21	3	21	5	36	3	21
Eskimo village/mission boarding school (N=8)	0	0	2	25	0	0	6	75
Total (N=76)	8	11	18	24	23	30	27	36

Such a high incidence of social and emotional problems is not in itself surprising in a population undergoing rapid cultural transition. What is alarming is that most of the psychological

disturbance appeared to be school related (see table 2). Among the 111 freshmen for whom we had sufficient information to make reasonable judgments, 40 percent had school-related problems; 25 percent of school-related problems were judged serious.

TABLE 2
Mental Health Problems of Village Eskimo Students in Four Boarding Environments

Environment	School-Related Problems				Non-School-Related Problems				No Disturbance	
	Serious		Mild		Serious		Mild			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
FRESHMEN										
White city/white boarding home (N=34)	12	35	9	26	1	3	3	9	9	26
Eskimo town/public boarding school (N=38)	5	14	8	22	3	8	12	32	9	24
Eskimo town/Eskimo boarding home (N=22)	8	36	5	23	5	23	2	9	2	9
Eskimo village/mission boarding school (N=17)	3	17	5	28	2	11	5	28	2	17
Total (N=111)	28	25	27	24	11	10	22	20	23	21
SOPHOMORES										
White city/white boarding home (N=16)	4	25	2	13	0	0	4	25	6	38
Eskimo town/public boarding school (N=31)	16	52	9	29	0	0	2	6	4	13
Eskimo town/Eskimo boarding home (N=11)	5	45	2	18	1	9	0	0	3	27
Eskimo village/mission boarding school (N=8)	1	13	0	0	1	13	2	25	4	50
Total (N=66)	26	39	13	20	2	3	8	12	17	26

The social and emotional problems that occurred during the freshman year were not primarily initial adjustment problems, with psychological health improving the following year. Among the continuing sophomores, 59 percent had school-related problems, and 39 percent of these were judged severe or moderately severe. No statistically significant differences appeared between the freshman and the continuing sophomores in the probability of disturbance or in the incidence and severity of school-related problems.

Comparisons between the freshman group and those students who remained as sophomores, however, can be misleading because

many freshmen with school-related problems left school. Indeed, 43 percent of the sample dropped out or transferred before their sophomore year. Examining changes in psychological health of only those students who remained in the program both years, however, still indicates no change for the better (see table 3). Indeed, in 47 percent of the cases school-related problems worsened or new problems developed during the sophomore year.

TABLE 3
Change in Severity of Problems Among Eskimo Boarding School Students from Freshman to Sophomore Years

	School-Related Problems							
	Worsened or New Problems Appeared		Alleviated		Remained Constant		No Disturbance or Disturbance Not School Related	
Environment	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White city/white boarding home (N=15)	3	20	3	20	3	20	6	40
Eskimo town/public boarding school (N=27)	20	74	3	11	1	4	3	11
Eskimo town/Eskimo boarding home (N=12)	5	42	2	17	1	8	4	33
Eskimo village/mission boarding school (N=8)	1	13	2	25	0	0	5	63
Total (N=62)	29	47	10	16	5	8	18	29

The type of boarding school that the student entered made only a slight difference. Surprisingly, during the students' freshman year, both the Eskimo town/Eskimo boarding home program and the white city/white boarding home program had very high rates of serious school-related problems, with both boarding schools having much lower rates. However, the sample of students in each school is small, and these differences did not reach statistical significance.

However, the following year, when two of the school environments changed, the four types of schools differed significantly

on every measure--the probability of disturbance ($x^2 = 17.44$, $df = 9$, $p < .05$), the incidence of school-related disturbance ($x^2 = 16.32$, $df = 3$, $p < .01$), the severity of school-related disturbance ($x^2 = 16.62$, $df = 6$, $p < .05$), and the types of changes that had occurred between the freshman and sophomore year ($x^2 = 20.37$, $df = 9$, $p < .05$). Such differences were largely due to the startling rise in school-related problems at the public boarding school.

In the first year of the study the public boarding school was noteworthy for its low level of problems. The rate of serious school-related disturbance was only 14 percent, the lowest of any of the schools. Drinking problems, for example, involved only 8 percent of our freshman sample, about the same percentage of drinking problems as found among students who had stayed home because their village had a ninth grade (5). The freshman drop-out rate was a minuscule 7 percent, and the students' reading achievement gains slightly surpassed national norms. The following year, school-related disturbance skyrocketed to 81 percent of our sample, the highest of any school studied. Drinking problems rose to 40 percent and the drop-out rate to 26 percent.

The consolidation of the village boarding school with the town high school created great tension. The more aggressive Eskimo town students mocked the village students as "country hicks" and the village students felt that they had "lost their

school." Many village boarding students refused to go to school, talk in class, or participate in activities if Eskimo town students were present. At the same time stress was increasing in the school, recreational outlets in the dormitory were decreasing due to a budget cutback. Getting drunk and going wild became the popular form of entertainment at the school, and violent drinking and anti-white militancy became entrenched as peer group norms. The situation was worsened by a reduction in dormitory attendants and the appointment of an inexperienced dormitory director whose policies of "reinforcing positive behavior while ignoring negative behavior" meant that little control was placed on violent students. The situation at the public boarding school that year bore a striking resemblance to the outcome of Lewin and associates' well-known study (Lewin, Kippis, White, 1973) demonstrating the effects of external stress and a laissez-faire leadership style on aggressive behavior.

In the Eskimo town/Eskimo boarding home program, school-related disturbance, especially serious disturbance, was very high during both years. Among the freshmen, 59 percent were judged to have school-related social and emotional problems and among the sophomores, 63 percent. These problems were primarily the result of students' entanglements in the social pathology of the regional town. Many students became involved in heavy drinking, sexual problems, and criminal offenses with relatives in town, with exploitative whites, or with disorganized young Eskimo adults. Nor did moving to the dormitory the following

year or the new education program make any difference. Indeed, the school's initial policy of "educational freedom" (e.g., "If I can't turn him on, he doesn't need to come to class") meant that peer group pressure was the most powerful force on the students, and this threw them even more into town life.

In the white city/white boarding home program, school-related disturbance was also quite high, affecting 61 percent of the freshmen and 38 percent of the sophomores. Many of the problems resulted from the differing cultural expectations of urban white families and village Eskimo families. A typical point of tension was eating. Many boarding home parents prevented students from eating whenever they were hungry as they did in the village and limited their intake of costly meat, a staple of diet in a hunting culture. Parents complained that the students were spoiled and selfish, while students complained that they were "all the time starving" in the boarding home. Other problems were created by the difficulty of the academic work in white city schools. The village students were often a lost minority, unable to perform well except in special classes set up for them. Many students felt that everyone was prejudiced against them, skipped school, or hid in the far corner of the classroom. However, a small group of students who were academically talented and placed in unusually fine boarding homes did well and benefited from the wider educational opportunities available in the city.

At the Eskimo village/mission boarding school, school-related problems were high during the freshman year, affecting 55 percent of the students. Disturbance in this disciplined environment, where alcohol was hard to obtain, generally took the form of depression and psychosomatic complaints rather than the violent drinking and acting out that was common in other schools. Most of the problems appeared to be the result of separating highly traditional Eskimo students from their families and placing them in an academically demanding school. We suspect that this school had favorable influences on the development of the upperclassmen. However, we did not have enough upperclassmen in our group to trace any effects of this kind. A large proportion of the freshmen, about 41 percent, dropped out before their sophomore year for a combination of reasons--homesickness, need to help sick parents at home, dislike of the school, or the erroneous belief that they could not attend without paying tuition. It is interesting that the eight continuing students did well as sophomores; only one continued to have school-related problems.

Suggestive conclusions from this part of study

This study suggests that boarding schools contribute to a high incidence of social and emotional disturbance among Eskimo adolescents. These disturbances are not primarily initial adjustment difficulties that subside later on, but are continuing disturbances.

This study has obvious limitations, such as the small sample size and the difficulty of obtaining sufficient information to make reasonable judgments. However, other sources of information, such as Native leaders and state education personnel, have pointed to the same conclusions.

This study was one factor influencing Alaska's Department of Education to adopt the policy of establishing high schools in students' home villages. Such a remedy may not be possible for Indian children in other states, of course, and boarding programs will continue in Alaska for some time while village high schools are being constructed. This study does suggest, however, that changes in the boarding school environment can have substantial effects. Both in this study and in other work with boarding schools, we have been impressed by how volatile these institutions are. The level of problems in different years varies markedly with such factors as the personality and policies of the dormitory director, the number of dormitory attendants, the amount of recreational activities, and the mix of students. Stresses in the town, for example, whether it is "wet" or "dry" in a given year, also markedly affect the schools and students.

However, the kinds of changes needed in boarding schools appear to us to be considerably more complicated than the commonly suggested remedies--increased staff, more recreational activities, more Native cultural content. Although such changes may affect the immediate level of disturbance, we wonder whether

apparently well-functioning boarding schools with low rates of obvious disturbance nonetheless have subtle adverse effects on long-term development. Our follow-up studies of graduates who had attended the public boarding school during its smoothly functioning period indicated high levels of passive, dependent styles of adult behavior and an unusually high rate of college failure. Follow-up studies of graduates from the mission boarding school, in contrast, suggested unusually high levels of responsibility and motivation, as indicated by a high rate of participation in civic affairs and a high rate of college success.

It is possible that the differing kinds of socialization occurring at the two boarding schools help to explain this difference, although student selection factors are also important. For example, the recreation program at the public boarding school consisted of movies, dances, and Native craft courses provided by the school with the fiction of a student recreation council controlling the program. The recreation program at the private boarding school, in contrast, was based on the ethic that each class of students should contribute to the well-being of the school by taking the responsibility for planning and organizing an activity. Classes regarded these activities as a serious obligation, and graduates often attributed their village civic participation to the kind of training they had recieved in high school. In short, the type of boarding school reforms that reduce immediate problems are not necessarily the ones that contribute to the development of effective adults. The funda-

mental changes needed in boarding schools may be subtle alterations in the roles of students and in the climate of values--changes, above all, in the meaning of things.

Overall conclusions

Our conclusions are in large part embedded in the body of the report and specifically follow the analyses of the major objective study findings. In recapitulation, they appear to have two dimensions:

1. The nature of the "average expectable environment" for Eskimo infants is such that a substantial proportion of them experience substantial difficulty in developing a consistent positive personal image. Additionally, such children find anxiety in interpersonal relationships which they would like to be warm and indeed strive to create such expectations. (Mahler et al., 1975 note the way in which some children actively seek out the best that they can find in non-supportive socialization and often through their own efforts do much better than their experiences would predict.)

2. These emotional supportive socialization deficiencies probably induce substantial interference with normal cognitive growth and assuredly retard the development of strong capacities for interpersonal affect.

3. The child from such a background is further embedded in a condition of substantial culture change, which may both elicit initial discomfort based on early socialization problems

and secondarily provide challenges which would be of significance to persons even not so burdened.

4. Nonetheless, if educational structures are developed, as they are in the village/mission school discussed above, restorative and positive adaptation is possible at least for some substantial fraction.

5. This is achieved by recreating the earliest sense of trust and building upon this warmth by creating ego ideals in the form of values and positive support for individuation and maturity. That is, the distortion in the separation-individuation period normative for Eskimo children are "repaired" and existing ego strengths built upon by providing not merely warmth and emotional support but by taking advantage of the late latency and early adolescent drive toward personal integration and creation of empathic and self-sustained community supported positive values.

6. The strongest implication of these findings essentially suggests that "value free" non-directed secondary education is <u>not</u> as productive to personal mental health and maturation as the provision of "value loaded" directed education under the supervision of goal-oriented teachers. (One of the authors (Judith Kleinfeld) is preparing a book-length treatment of this subject.)

A number of important theoretical issues of great practical significance are also raised by the research, and answers to these could not be achieved within the framework of this research:

1. It is not clear whether eventually "successful" students, even from the specially advantageous mission/boarding school, were essentially representative of the more integrated socialization provided the minority of Eskimo children, though there are strong hints in that direction.

2. The exact psychodynamics of the supportive school environment and its technical effects upon ego integration need to be the subject of much more sophisticated research and analysis. For example, are children with fragmented object relations able to do more than "paper over" these structural deficiencies in the supportive environemnt, or are they capable of some degree of structural reorganization? If so, how is this accomplished?

3. Are these findings generalizeable beyond the special Eskimo setting? We suspect they are. We believe that if positive effects can be achieved with children who possess substantial emotional deficits that children with lesser pathic backgrounds might more easily be able to mobilize positive capacities where substantial school community support acted as a buttress against regressive tendencies. Quite clearly, this is an issue which needs to be addressed.

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